764 They dig a round hole, three feet deep, in a hut, so that it will be under cover. They bathe the body, redden it all over, anoint the hair with oil, and truss it up as carefully as for one of their great feasts. They wrap the deceased in a cotton hammock and then put him in the hole in nearly the same posture as the child is in the womb of his mother, not upside down nor with the face against the ground, but straight, the feet below, the head up and resting on the knees. They then cover the hole with a board. That done, the women sit around the grave on their heels and cry, while their husbands clasp them with the left hand and stroke their arm with the right hand as if to lessen the pain. All the women strike up a lugubrious song punctuated with sighs and cries. While lamenting they throw dirt in the hole with their hands and then build a fire over it. They burn the dead man's old clothes or give them away. If the deceased had slaves, they kill them—but the slaves usually run away, and they are not chased.

765 The children of the deceased or his wife cut their hair in sign of mourning. They also fast one or two [737] months. When Father Raymond asked them if their fast did the dead any good, they said no, but that those who did not fast would age quicker because of it, or would not have a firm footing, would not see the fish in the water, or would be surprised by their enemies. These reasons seem pertinent even to the aged.

If one of the relatives is unable to attend the funeral, he comes to visit the grave and weeps there with the parents of the deceased. When they believe the body is decomposed, they again assemble at the tomb, and weep and trample over the grave. On the anniversary of the death they come to drown their melancholy and the memory of the deceased in an abyss of ouicou.

775 Otherwise concerning the soul after death, they have the notion that each man has three souls. One in his head, which is felt beating at the temples; another in the arms, which manifests itselfs in the pulse; and the other in the heart, which makes its movement strongly felt.

The soul of the heart goes directly to heaven to be blessedly happy, although they are unable to say just what this felicity consists in. The soul of the arm and of the head becomes maboya, that is, an evil spirit which torments them. They fear the maboya extremely.

right to do it. They apologize for not having been accustomed to doing it, and they have borrowed our word for prayer, apourieroutoni, but have added the ending of their verb and noun. [433] When lizards, animals, or birds accidentally perch on their houses or near by, as if they were tame, they do not dare to touch them. They say that these are birds which belong to the gods of the boyes, and if the Caribs killed these animals the gods would kill them in turn. [341]

The maboyas are evil spirits. The Caribs have no knowledge of the creation nor of the end of the world, nor of angels nor devils. They fear the maboyas, however, and the oumécou about whom they have told me stories which I consider fables. When I tried to make them understand who the devil was, I called him maboya in order that they would firmly believe what I told them, since they have so much hatred for maboyas. [424]

It has been wrongly said that two Caribs taken to France had renounced their faith. One of these obtained permission to visit his parents and he died there a little while after his return. The other one requested me to live near him until his death, offering to feed me and to have a chapel built for me. [360]

If death is terrible to other men, I have seen that among the Caribs it seems more than terrible. It is so among those who have a conscience filled with remorse over the evil that they know they have done. For, believing in the immortality of the soul, they are fearful of the punishments which might confront them according to their faults. No one can console them at this time. They die with strange grieving and with bitterness of heart. As soon as they are dead, they are painted red, their hair is arranged, and they are wrapped in a good cotton hammock -- if they are important. They then make a round hole in the middle of the house at a depth suitable to the posture that they have given them, which is the posture they had in the womb of their mother. They lower them into the hole, placing them on a plank which has been put there and cover them with another on which they throw the dirt. They shed tears and sing sadly of their sorrow and their regret. This continues late at night and at dawn for a number of days. They don't forget the custom of putting bread and wine upon the grave, nor that of maintaining a fire around the grave for a long time. At the end of a year they return to weep, and lifting up the planks they throw earth on the consumed corpse. They trample down the earth and drink the rest of the day and night. Sometimes they move out of their houses and habitations, as I have seen them do after the death of their captain, Henri Comte. [237]

758 As soon as they have fallen sick their spouses and near relatives leave them and visit them no more. They say their reason is that in their own bodies there is an essence which is not only capable of harming and worsening the sick man's condition, but could also cause his death. Many do not visit the sick for this reason, although they do not lack sympathy toward some one of their friends or relatives who is sick. Their sympathies are not by nature perverted.

Once Father Raymond [Breton] asked a young Carib boy why he did not visit his sick father who was on the verge of death. The poor boy signed and shed a stream of tears which showed the extent to which his heart was moved by compassion for the plight of his father, and also showed that it was impossible for him to think about it without being affected. Yet he could not visit his father, who was in such a miserable condition, because then he [the father] would die immediately. In this respect we are made aware that they are not such barbarians as one imagines.

761 Father Raymond [Breton] says that he has seen some of the most vicious among them dying with dreadful anxiety as a result of apprehension and doubt over what should become of their souls after their death. No one among them could provide solace to these persons.

●764 As soon as a person dies the women wash the body, clean it, and paint it with urucu from head to toe. The hair is greased with palmetto oil and is combed and tied. The deceased is arranged as neatly as he might appear in a solemn assembly. Then the women wrap him in a cotton hammock which has never been used. The grave is dug for burial in the very house in which he died, or else a house is especially built for him. They never bury their dead in an unprotected place, and they never omit these ceremonial practices —no matter where the place of death occurs.

Once a Carib captain of Dominica with his family of thirty to thirty-five people was bringing us one of his sick children to have him baptized before his death. However, the child died two leagues from our convent, and the group arrived greatly saddened, showing much regret over the fact that he had died before receiving baptism. With great insistence they asked us to give them a small abandoned house which we owned, located in a garden on the seashore. It was to be used as a sepulcher for their child. We willingly gave it to

764 them. They busied themselves reconditioning the house so thoroughly that it appeared new. They buried this child with the following ceremonies: In the midst of the house they dug a round hole three to four feet deep in which they placed the neatly prepared child. He was wrapped in his cotton hammock in the following position: he was sitting up on his heals, both elbows on his knees, with his head supported by the palms of his hands. The women surrounded the grave, taking the same position as the child, and began to make strange sighs. Immediately after they began a chant, very sad and full of laments. This song was intermingled with sighs and often with loud screams during which they raised their eyes to the sky. They shed such a quantity of tears that they would have compelled the most stout-hearted individuals to weep with them. Their husbands were sitting behind them, weeping like the women, but solaced their wives by embracing them with one hand and rubbing their arm occasionally with the other. One man covered the hole with a piece of plank and the women threw some earth on it from time to time. After this ceremony, which lasted a good hour, the women burned on the grave all of the child's possessions—consisting of certain small baskets, spun cotton, and some small trinkets.

764 [302] When the head of the family dies his wives and children cut their hair, wearing it as short as the slaves do, for one full year. They fast for the period of one moon on bread and water. It is not because they believe these actions are useful to the deceased, but rather they say, if they did not fast at the death of one of their relatives their own eyesight would weaken, they would become infirm, and would fall into the hands of their enemies. If the deceased owned slaves his relatives kill them unless they have already fled, in which case they are not pursued.

Relatives who cannot be present at the funeral come afterwards to visit the grave. They are obliged to weep like the others, although very often they don't feel like it. They sometimes spend a good quarter of an hour sighing, lamenting, and grimacing, before they shed tears. But when they are weeping no one can stop them.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

When a man
died all the relatives examined his body to satisfy themselves that he had not been killed by sorcery. The body was washed, painted, oiled as in life, flexed, and wrapped in a new hammock. It was placed upon a stool in a grave dug in the carbet, near the wall in the case of an ordinary person but in the center if the man were prominent, its eyes were weighted shut, and mats were added to protect it from the soil. The grave was not filled for 10 days, during which the relatives brought food and water to the corpse twice a day and lamented over it. A fire was built around the grave to purify it and to prevent the deceased from catching cold. The deceased's possessions were either cast into this fire or were placed in the grave; sometimes the house was burned too. In prehistoric times a slave or a dog was killed and put in the grave to care for the dead person. If the deceased were a warrior, the chief delivered a funeral oration, extolling his exploits. There was also a feast over the grave, accompanied by dancing. The close relatives fasted and cut their hair in mourning; some time afterward they held a second feast over the grave. In the case of a chief the *Carib* sometimes burned the corpse and mixed its ashes into a drink.

764 ● [763 754]

WARFARE

The *Carib* posted sentinels near all harbors to watch for the approach of raiding parties. They held assemblies to decide upon war and to fix a rendezvous; at these meetings the old women harangued them on the cruelty of the enemy, the war chief exhorted them to revenge themselves, they became very drunk, and at the height of the festival they ate some enemy flesh, smoked and preserved from the last raid. Each warrior present was given a gourd full of pebbles, a string with knots, or a stick with notches, to tell how many days before he had to be at the rendezvous. He spent the time repairing his pirogue and his weapons, while his wives prepared food for the raid.

721 [21]

The principal *Carib* weapon was the bow and arrow, the former 6 feet (1.8 m.) long, the latter poisoned, occasionally feathered, and provided with a separate barbed point. The poison came from the sap of the manchineel tree; the points were of fishbone, tortoise shell, or fire-hardened wood. There were also javelins and clubs (boutou), the latter engraved and painted with geometric and anthropomorphic designs. These clubs, which varied in length according to the rank of the owner, were used after the supply of arrows had been exhausted (pl. 93).

6411

The *Carib* attempted to catch the enemy asleep in their villages. They attacked at dawn, or at night when there was a full moon. Divided into three bands, they fell upon the village, uttering war cries and shooting fire arrows (having cotton heads).

726

If the enemy resisted successfully, the *Carib* retired at noon, taking with them their dead and wounded. They might re-form for another

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

his widow assured me that it was useless for me to try to save their 754
10-year-old daughter, as the child had fallen under the same spell as the father, and had been sick ever since the latter's death. The girl was well grown, but very thin, and had swellings on neck and shoulders. She said her whole body hurt her. At the time I last saw her alive she kept vomiting a light colorless froth, and had a very quick pulse and normal temperature. At her own request I procured eggs and milk for her, and sent for the doctor on my own responsibility. But the message was either distorted or misunderstood, for the doctor neither sent any word nor put in an appearance; and when, 5 days later, the girl died, she was buried without a certificate, as is customary in the reserve. If, as is probable, it was a case of tubercular meningitis, an immediate operation might have saved the child's life.

Death is announced as soon as it takes place by a single protracted 764 ●
blast of the conque shell (corne lambi). Law and hygiene demand [763]
that burial take place within 24 hours (though Labat records having seen the body of a Carib dead several months and perfectly preserved through the use of roucou, *Bixa orellana*), but this is preceded, whenever possible, by a wake to which all and sundry come to make pigs of themselves on the rum provided. When the last "grog" is drunk and the coffin—made on the spot by some of the men present—nailed down, a procession is formed to conduct the corpse to the little cemetery of Sainte Marie, the last home of the last Antilleans. The reading of a French prayer by some old woman more literate than the rest, the tolling of a cracked bell, and the coffin is bestowed in a hastily dug grave almost within reach of the Atlantic waves. Burial in the foetal posture under the floor of the karbé was suppressed by the priests some 70 years ago. The depth of the grave as dug today is supposed to be equal to the length of the body.

Eight days after the burial a sort of second wake is held in the house 765
where the deceased died. In the event of this not having been his or her usual abode, two wakes, or "prières," as they are called, are held. The deathbed is decorated with white flowers, candles, and objects having belonged to the dead man or woman. Until midnight women and girls sit around a table and sing French cantiques, while men and boys wander about, chatting and drinking. Fires are then lighted outside the house and cocoa and cassava bread prepared and offered to those present. At this time the girls usually pair off with the boys and disappear into the bushes, while the older men and women sit round the fire drinking rum and telling tales and conundrums. Sometimes a sort of ronde, or Reigen, is danced around the fire before the dispersal at daybreak. The meaning and object of this ceremony [775]
seems to be a kind of spiritual fumigation to rid the house of the now nefarious spirit of the new dead, which continues to lurk there after burial, as perhaps also of the evil powers that caused the death.

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950 .
ST13 Callinago ST13

On the other hand, a new-born child may be adversely affected by the diet or activities not only of its mother and father, but also by those of any others who come near it. Mother and child should not be visited, moreover, by persons who are in any way "abnormal." For the Carib this includes—besides those who are deformed, disabled, or lacking in some sense or faculty—all who are, to use a current expression, "heaty": this epithet being applicable both to pregnant or menstruating women, and to anyone who is momentarily heated by exertion, excitement, or emotion.

Girls and women are required to observe both dietary and occupational restrictions during their menstrual periods. At these times, they must on no account eat any products of the chase killed by dog or gun. One informant told how his dogs had inexplicably become heavy and incapable of speed; and how, on hearing a sort of slopping noise in their bellies, he had made investigations, and discovered that his own sister, out of gluttony, had concealed her condition and partaken of his last catch. Some say that a gun or dogs so "spoiled" may be "blessed," and thus put back to rights; but that in this case, it is the guilty woman who will then suffer for her negligence. Nor must menstruating women handle the hunter's dogs or weapons, cook food, or take part in ceremonial songs and dances. They should not, moreover, wander abroad nor bathe in the river, since spirits of the bush and of the water alike are addicted to women in this condition.

In British Honduras, though no longer in Dominica, the bereaved spouse must observe certain restrictions on diet and freedom of movement; but the extent and duration of these are largely dependent, at the present time, upon the degree of conservatism prevailing in the family concerned. However, it is generally held to be dangerous for a widow to go to the manioc-field for several months—some say eight—after the death of her husband.

From a comparison of the two sets of data, it seems clear, at least, that the "mystical participation" of the father in the life of his new-born child was—and is—by no means unique in Island Carib concept; and that the form, duration, and sanctions for the restrictions tended to be the same when these were undergone for one's own sake alone as when they were imposed, primarily, for that of another. As we have seen, not only the new-born child, but also its father, the sick and the wounded, and, in fact, all those turning one of life's critical corners, are or were thought to be endangered by a sort of physical exuberance emanating from heated, overfed, sexually or otherwise excited, pregnant, or menstruating bodies, be it their own or those of others associating with them. For the seventeenth century, the same period of seclusion—one or two months—is indicated for the bereaved, the slayer, the new father of a first child, or the adolescent; and for the first three of these, the same sanctions—growing old sooner, being less sure-footed, etc.—are mentioned explicitly. The voluntarily undergone deprivations and sufferings of the old-time Carib

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive [304] color, naturally; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore; the former they called *Mabouyas*, the latter *Oumekou*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, becoming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with roucou, and spun the cotton yarn, wove hammocks, etc.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

boémę *crown* ?], puis on les en frotte partout oú ils sont incisez, pensez s'ils ont froid! Pour les restorer on leur donne à manger le coeur de leur oyseau seullement; et crainte qu'il ne leur cause quelque indigestion, dès les grand matin, ils vont à un canari plein d'infusion de tabac, qu'ils boivent à longs traits, et qui leur fait rendre tripes et boudins.

Entre tous les conviés il y en a 6 ou 8 qui se frottent tout le corps de gomme d'Elemie [*Dacryodes excelsa* Vahl] encore liquide et degouttante de l'arbre, à laquelle on attache du duvet, ou petites plumes du festu-en-queue [*Phaeton aethereus*], et on couronne leurs testes de grandes plumes d'Arras, puis on les fait danser, deux à deux, autour du Carbet, l'un estendant son bras droit sur les epaulles de l'autre, et l'autre sa gauche autour du col de son compagnon. Les autres suivent en la meme posture, et en dansant deux à deux jusque a ce qu'ils soient arrivez au lieu où ils trouvent des grandes callebasses pleines d'oüicou, qu'il faut avaller jusqu' à la derniere goutte, encore qu'ils en deussent crever.

Other authors tell us that the "gligli" and "malfini" hawks were the birds usually employed in these rites; that the heart was dried over the fire before it was eaten, and the feet often set aside to be worn in an amulet; that the initiate's head and neck were anointed with oil; and that water, and tobacco and roku *(Bixa orellana)* leaves, as well as *Capsicum,* were crushed up with the bird's body to be rubbed on the men's backs.

No official form of divorce is recorded, but there is plenty of evidence to show that separation and remarriage of wives took place, consequent upon incompetence, neglect, or desertion on the part of the husband. Children always remained, in such cases, with the mother. Widows and widowers were free to remarry when and whom they pleased.

As soon as they are dead [says Breton] they paint them red [with roku], comb them, and, if they are of consequence, wrap them in a fine cotton bed, and in the middle of the hut dig a round hole of a depth proportionate to the posture they give them (which is that which they had in their mother's womb) [Labat says: "seated on a little stool, elbows on knees and chin in cupped hands"] into which they are lowered onto a piece of board placed there, then covered with another such onto which earth is thrown and tears shed, the while they sing their sorrow and lament in a lugubrious tone. This they continue last thing in the evening and at daybreak in the morning for some time. They do not forget their custom of putting bread and wine [cassava-cakes and wiku] on the grave, nor to light a fire all around it for quite a time. After a year they return to weep, remove the boards, throw and trample down earth upon the decayed body, drink the rest of the day and night, and sometimes quit the house and habitation, as I saw them do after the death of their captain, Henri Comte.

Personal belongings, other than those buried with the deceased, usually were burnt.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

Caribs' subsequent fixation in an ever-dwindling number of islands or districts thereof must have hastened this process. Traditionally inclined to seek their fortune in seafaring and piracy, their subsistence in hunting and fishing, the Island men were increasingly forced to depend for economic security on the despised horticulture of their womenfolk.[12]

Dominica
British West Indies

12 *Addendum on death customs and beliefs:* The following notes, secured on the Carib Reserve in January 1946, belong properly with my *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 507-530, 1945).

The water with which the corpse was washed is kept until the interment, to be thrown after the departing coffin. Then everything in the house (with the following exceptions) is taken out into the yard to be washed or scrubbed immediately. However, the personal clothing last worn by the deceased, as well as the bed and bedding on which he died, must be left untouched, with a light burning on the bed itself, until after "la prière" or eighth day wake. Not until after the latter rite has taken place can the dead person's soul be expected to "know that he is dead" and to take its departure.

In removing a troublesome mosch from his glass of rum, some days after his father-in-law's death, a young Carib man remarked to me: "It certainly must be Jimmy [the deceased] who smelt the rum and wants his share."

Another (unconnected) belief that I only recently discovered is to the effect that madness is usually caused by "somebody setting a zombi upon you."